

OBEDIENCE OF NON MUSLIM POLICEWOMEN IN ACEH IN WEARING THE VEIL UNIFORM

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Abstract

This study examines the compliance of 3 non-Muslim policewomen in three police institutions, in Ditlantas Aceh Regional Police, Jaya Baru and Baiturrahman Sector Police Banda Aceh, Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, Indonesia. The main focus of this research is to explore the compliance of the 3 policewomen in wearing the veil uniforms. This research employed a qualitative method by examining case studies. The results of this study indicate that, there are several factors caused the obedience of 3 non Muslim policewomen officers in wearing the veil uniform, namely, first, adjusting to the office environment, second, respecting to the Islamic Sharia, the third, adhering to seniors and commanders. This article put the theory of Bourdieu. It related to compliance in accordance with the socio-cultural Aceh society and although the practice produces a variety of habits and conditions, but these three policewomen feel comfortable. This fact unconsciously produce the Doxa, in which generated into an attitude of mutual respect, maintaining the tolerance and harmony for all parties, without distinguishing between ethnicities and the faith. The concept of obedience can be applied to shape the disciplined character, responsible and able to result the peaceful sphere.

Keywords: *Obedience; Non Muslim Policewomen; Aceh; Veil Uniform*

Abstrak

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kepatuhan dari 3 polwan non Muslim di tiga institusi kepolisian yaitu di Ditlantas Polda Aceh, Polsek Jaya Baru dan Polsek Baiturrahman Banda Aceh, Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, Indonesia. Fokus utama dari penelitian ini adalah untuk melihat kepatuhan 3 polwan tersebut dalam memakai seragam berjilbab. Riset ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan mengkaji studi kasus. Hasil penelitian dari tulisan ini menjelaskan bahwa ada beberapa faktor yang menunjukkan kepatuhan 3 polisi wanita dalam memakai seragam berjilbab, di antaranya menyesuaikan diri dengan lingkungan pekerjaan dan tempat tinggal, menghormati penerapan Syariat Islam dan patuh terhadap senior serta atasan. Tulisan ini menggunakan teori Bourdieu. Dapat disimpulkan bahwa kepatuhan tersebut sesuai dengan sosiokultural masyarakat Aceh. Meskipun praktik tersebut memproduksi berbagai kebiasaan dan kondisi, namun ketiga polwan tersebut merasa nyaman. Fakta tersebut tanpa disadari telah menciptakan Doxa yang lahir menjadi sikap saling menghargai, menjaga toleransi dan keharmonisan bagi semua pihak, tanpa membedakan suku dan agama. Konsep kepatuhan bisa dipraktikkan untuk membentuk karakter yang disiplin, bertanggungjawab dan mampu menciptakan suasana damai.

Kata kunci: *Kepatuhan; Polwan Non Muslim; Aceh; Seragam Berjilbab*

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مستخلص

هذا المقال يبحث في تحليل جانب إطاعة ثلاث نسوة من الشرطة غير مسلمة في محافظة أتشيه اللاتي يعملن في ثلاثة مكاتب شرطية مختلفة: مكتب رئيسي للشرطة لمحافظة أتشيه، و في مكتب جايا بارو، وفي مكتب بيت الرحمن. وارتكاز اهتمام هذا البحث في معرفة مدى إطاعة ثلاث نسوة من الشرطة غير مسلمة في ارتداء الزي الشرطي محجبة. هذا البحث يكون بحثا كيفيا بوضع الاهتمام بهذه القضية كموضوع البحث. و نتيجة البحث تدل على أن هناك على الأقل ثلاثة عوامل هامة تحثهن على الإطاعة، منها: التكيف بالمهمة كالشرطة و بيئة و مكان الإقامة؛ الاحترام لتطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية؛ والإطاعة لولي الأمر. هذا المقال يستخدم نظرية لبورديو التي تدل على أن الإطاعة لثلاث نسوة من الشرطة غير مسلمة متفقة تماما مع الوضع الاجتماعي لأتشييه. وهذا يتطابق تماما أيضا في إنشاء موقف التعايش السلمي و تكوين الانسجام بين مختلفي القبائل والأديان. و مفهوم الإطاعة قد يطبق لإنشاء الانضباط و روح المسؤولية و إحضار الجو السلمي.

الكلمات الرئيسية: إطاعة ; نسوة من الشرطة غير مسلمة ; أتشييه ; الزي الشرطي محجبة

A. INTRODUCTION

This study aims to analyze the compliance of 3 non-Muslim police women officers in Banda Aceh after the implementation of Islamic Sharia. Historically, the application of Islamic sharia in Aceh was proposed by the central government to end the armed separatist rebellion. It such as Miller's analysis, it is related to the context of the Indonesian regime's transition that the first changes were made to the Aceh policy approach in Jakarta. It began with the lifting of a decade of martial law status in Aceh in August 1998. This fact was a strategy of the New Order era initiated by the President Bacharuddin Yusuf Habibie, to establish himself as a democratic leader by offering the negotiation solutions to the conflict. This political approach includes the formulation of a special autonomy law (Law No. 44 of 1999), which recognizes Aceh's privileges by giving it the right to regulate and manage their religion, cultural and educational affairs. Furthermore, under Abdurrahman Wahid's presidency, the implementation of Law no. 44/1999, followed by the development of a comprehensive Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD), (Law No. 18 of 2001), in which it aims to create an attractive alternative through giving broadly powers of self-government to Aceh.¹

This research starts with one assumption that, Islamic sharia in Aceh only obligated to Muslims, while for non-Muslims they only adjust to the applicable Sharia rules. As Ansor's work stated that, the position of non-Muslims in Islamic Sharia regulations in Aceh can be

¹ Michelle Ann Miller, "The Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Law: A Serious Response to Acehese Separatism?," *Asian Ethnicity* Volume 5, no. 3 (2004): 333-334.

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seen in Law no. 05/2000 concerning the application of Islamic sharia. The law stipulates that "other religions outside of Islam will be recognized in this region, they can practice the teachings of religion by their respective followers" article 2 (2). This paragraph normatively acknowledges the existence of non-Muslims in Aceh. They are respected, protected and given freedom of worship in accordance with the teachings of their religion.²

Based on the observations and the data in 2018 at the Aceh Regional Police Headquarters (Mapolda Aceh) some time ago, the number of police women officers the whole Aceh is 752. 742 are Muslim police women and 10 are non-Muslim police women.³ In general, all police women officers in Aceh wearing the uniform with the veil, including non-Muslim police women. In addition, regarding women's police uniforms has been regulated in the Decree of the Chief of Police (SK) No Pol: Skep / 702 / IX / 2005. Indeed, the contents of the decree are not explicitly written prohibiting the wearing of the veil. However, when working to serve the society, they wear the uniforms with the veil. Exceptions to the field of investigation and intelligence, they are not required to wear uniforms, and allowed to dress freely or wearing the veil. In connection with the veiled uniforms in the circle of policewomen still reap the pros and cons in the community, because the National Police does not have special rules for veiled police uniforms, except in Aceh Province.⁴

Thus, referring to the phenomena above, the implementation of Islamic sharia certainly has an impact on the non-Muslim minority in Aceh including the non Muslim police women. It is undeniable that, this situation generated the implications and it become a challenge for them when working in Aceh. Therefore, there was a gap between the regulation and the reality, In that the regulation apparently affects and compells the non-Muslim women to obey the Islamic shari'a, which it contradicts to the act related to freedom of worship.

The sociological assumption that was developed by the researcher was that, the obedience in wearing the veil uniforms for non-Muslim policewomen members was dominant and even forced. Borrowing the term of Sihotang, that the dominance is cultural, incarnated as a set of rules that are recognized as a cultural identity which is then recognized together as a

² Muhammad Ansor, "We Are from the Same Ancestors: Cristian-Muslim Relation in Contemporary Aceh Singkil," *AL-ALBAB* 3, no. 1 (2014): 15.

³ Interview results with the Police Commissioner Sulaiman, position as lead of subsection Kasubbag Renmin Ro SDM Polda Aceh, Augustust 6, 2018 in Aceh regional police headquarters (Polda Aceh).

⁴ Dian Maharani, "Polri Kaji Ulang Penggunaan Jilbab Bagi Polwan," *Kompas.Com-*, n.d.

rule. He stated that there was a kind of celebration event to a dominance that was legitimized institutionally and then valid to be enforced.⁵

This research is a Hybrid in that it studies about the minority voice at Police Institution, indeed, there has no been similar research before. This research is also important, as it studies the alleged of intolerance that occurs at Police Institution. The intolerance is very dangerous and it is not supposed to be at Police Institution, as, this institution is expected to enforce the law. If they do the intolerance, it means that they will loose the public trust as law enforcing institution.

Therefore, based on the phenomenon, the question in this research is, why non-Muslim police women in Aceh obedient to wearing the uniform with the veil.

1. Procedure

Data collection in qualitative research, it was conducted in three ways, namely direct observation, interviews and documentation. Observations were carried out for one semester, for 6 months. All methods of the data collection are carried out alternately and simultaneously during the research. This article is one of the part of the researcher's dissertation.

2. Data analysis

The steps of data analysis in this work are: *First*, all data obtained through observation and interviews are verified and reduced by simplifying it, in the form of narratives and schemes so that it is easy to read the data. *Second*, the next step is to categorize the data to formulate or support a hypothesis or inference. *Third*, then the data is arranged in the form of units, the smallest part that can stand alone apart from the others, however it can be recognized and understood, so that it can be used to form patterns. *Fourth*, each unit is collected into a single unit of the data, then simultaneously verified and triangulated both observation techniques, in-depth interviews and documentation, as well as the sources of all research subjects that run continuously in the whole time of data collection and analysis. *Fifth*, build the configuration of the relationship between the inference of the problem formulation systematically by dialoguing various relevant theories so that a systematic and coherent pattern is built in response to the problem formulation as the relevance of the theory

⁵ K.J. Sihotang, "Struktur Dan Kultur Dominasi: Relansi Agensi Dan Strukturasi Dalam Pembentukan Kultur Prajurit TNI Angkatan Darat Pada Era Reformasi," *Sosiologi Reflektif* 6, no. 2 (n.d.).

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about Obedience. *Sixth*, the theory is then analyzed again to obtain the results of research on the compliance of non-Muslim policewomen in Aceh.⁶

There are some literature related to Muslim clothing and its impact on non-Muslim minorities in Aceh, such as Ansor's work⁷, where he conducted his research on the experience of Christian women teachers in public schools in Aceh. His work highlights the public sphere of the school which is an arena for power struggles between Muslims and a minority of Christian women that leads to the tendency of Christian women to wearing the veil. His writing also illustrates that the application of Islamic law encourages the emergence of hybrid identities in Christian women who wearing the veil. Hybrid identity was generated from the results of complex negotiations between identity as woman teachers, adherents of Christianity, and also the citizens of Aceh. He emphasized that the phenomenon of Christian women wearing the veil was not the true identity, but creative strategies to become Christian women in Aceh.

Furthermore, other Anshor's works⁸, emphasizing the application of Islamic law in Aceh, in particular analyzing resistance to women's clothing regulations in Langsa, triggered by various responses. Based on the findings of his study, 66.1 percent of the 305 respondents interviewed said that women must wear the veil and dress loosely; 12.1 percent said they allow tight clothing for women as long as they wear a veil; and 12.2 percent of respondents stated that women were free to determine their own style whether they wanted to wear the veil or not. However, 80 percent of respondents agreed to the islamic fashion control conducted out by WH (Wilayatul Hisbah) members. The data indicates that although the majority of respondents in Langsa agreed to the rules on women's clothing, the groups that were resistant quantitatively increased significantly. His observations and interviews focused on the State Islamic High School (STAIN, State Islamic High School) Zawiyah Cot Kala, the Great Mosque, Merdeka Square, and the Ring Road Langsa. This is a public place where people have different views in seeing the discipline of women's clothing.

In addition, other writings from Ansor with his colleagues Amri and Fahmi,⁹ illustrates the main practical problems that affect the lives of Christians in a Muslim-majority

⁶ Barney G. Glasser dan Anslem L. Staruss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2006). 53-80.

⁷ Muhammad Ansor and Cut Meutia, "Jilbab Dan Reproduksi Identitas Perempuan Kristen," *Kawistara* 6, no. 2 (2016).

⁸ Muhammad Ansor, "Being Woman In The Land of Shari'a: Politics of the Female Body, Piety and Resistance in Langsa," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* Vol. 52, no. 1 (2014): 59-83.

⁹ Yaser Amri and Ismail Fahmi Arrauf Muhammad Ansor, "'Under the Shadow of Sharia: Christian Muslim Relations from Acehese Christian Experience,'" *Komunitas* 8, no. 1 (n.d.): 125-134.

context. Their research is based on ethnographic studies conducted in 2013-2014 in Langsa and Aceh Singkil. The focus of their writings is to investigate the relationship between Christians as a minority and Muslims as the majority who apply Islamic sharia. Alexander et al, described the experience of Christians in Aceh in Muslim-Christian relations in Langsa and Aceh Singkil by highlighting two different cases. In Langsa, they show the involvement of Christian women related to the phenomenon of wearing the veil. The woman must wear a cover or the veil in public sphere. In Aceh Singkil they explored Christian encounter related to sealing the places of worship that took place in 2012. These cases were analyzed based on the research questions raised in the introduction to how the application of Islamic sharia influenced the formation of Christian minority religious experiences in both regions. Their results show that, the discrimination faced by non-Muslims in Langsa and Aceh Singkil is generally triggered by low religious tolerance, particularly, the intolerance of the majority against minorities. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen the perspective of tolerance and diversity of awareness in the Muslim community in Aceh, both through education at universities, schools, boarding schools (*pasantren*), public lectures in reading and interpreting the Quran (recitation) in the large of community.

What the characterizes this research and other previous works. Related to the study of minorities, it is only intended for civil society, and has not touched the police environment yet. Therefore, the researcher chose a police institution with the object of research as 3 non-Muslim police women in Aceh. This paper would like to explore their experiences, one of which is in their obedience in wearing the veil uniform. This study puts the theory that initiated by Pierre Bourdieu.

B. DISCUSSION

1. The Arguments for the Reason of Obedience

Obedience is defined by Maura Pozzi, et al., Based on the results of his research on several participants, one of them had been reported by participants, as both formalized laws social and family norms, he defined that, the meaning of obedience was respect and compliance to follow the rules in the society, in which with the terms of the regulation of the laws of the civil code and, in a broader way, all those conventions are useful for a peaceful life in a community.¹⁰

¹⁰ Maura Pozzi et al., "Do the Right Thing! A Study on Social Representation of Obedience and Disobedience," *New Ideas in Psychology* 35, no. 1 (2014): 18–27, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.newideapsych.2014.06.002>.

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Obedience theory has been studied in the social sciences, in particular in the fields of psychology and sociology in which emphasizes the importance of the process of socialization in influencing an individual's compliance behavior. Tyler stated that there are two perspectives in the sociology literature regarding obedience to the law, which are called instrumental and normative. The instrumental perspective assumes that the individual is entirely driven by personal interests and responses to changes related to behavior. The normative perspective deals with what people consider to be moral and contrary to their personal interests. An individual tends to obey the laws that they deem appropriate and consistent with their internal norms. Normative commitment through personal morality (normative commitment through morality) it means, obeying the law because it is considered a necessity, whereas normative commitment through legitimacy means obeying the rules because the legal drafting authority has the right to dictate behavior.¹¹

The results will be described based on the formulation of the problem or research question, why non-Muslim police women in Aceh, wearing the uniform with the veil. To answer the question, the researcher met 3 of non-Muslim police women and many groups such as the friends of 3 non Muslim police women and the people around them. In-depth interviews were also conducted with several people from the Aceh Regional Police, academics, priests, nuns, students, FKUB representatives, MPU representatives, government in this case represented by the head of the Islamic Sharia Service (Kadis Syariat Islam).

The results of the research from the three policewomen varied. The researcher conducted in separate interviews with the three policewomen. The first policewoman who has the initials EL (P1) who served in the Aceh Regional Police Office, and she was a Catholic, and also the wife of one of the TNI members in Aceh. P1 tells the reason for wearing the veiled uniform, because she tries to adjust to the culture and customs of the Acehnese people, both from the attitude, behavior to how to dressing. Although in the beginning wearing Muslim clothes and the veil, she felt uncomfortable, because it was not the world and her identity, but she would like to follow the rules and as time went by, all those concerns she avoided and she also began to get used to Islamic clothing and also the veil. There is no the coercion for her to wear the uniform with the veil, as evidenced when the distribution of uniforms from the National Police Headquarters, specifically for the Aceh region, policewoman uniforms equipped with the veil, prior to distribution, specifically to (P1) given the option, whether she would like to wear the veil uniform or no, she chose to wear the veil,

¹¹ R. Saleh, "Studi Empiris Ketepatan Waktu Pelaporan Keuangan Perusahaan Manufaktur Di Bursa Efek Jakarta," in *Simposium Nasional Akuntansi VII*, 2004.

in order not to be different from the other personnel and want to adapt with the majority of Acehese people, both in the residence where she lives and in the police institution where she works.¹²

The next Policewoman initial by LA (P2) who has interviewed by the researcher, served in Jaya Baru Police Station in Banda Aceh. P2 is also the wife of one of the TNI members in Aceh and she is a Protestant religion. When she got an assignment in Aceh, she asked her similarly profession friends about Aceh, and she was informed that every woman who lived in Aceh was required to wear the veil. When she first arrived in Aceh, she felt uncomfortable and stiff when wearing the veil clothes and uniforms. In addition, when leaving the house wearing tight clothes, short-sleeved T-shirt or not wearing the veil, her husband did not hesitate to reprimand his wife. (P2) keep shows her identity as a devout Protestant, although she did not wear the veil perfectly, but she still adjusts to the Islamic clothing used by the Muslim community in Aceh, even though only wearing *pashmina* (long scarf).¹³

P2 admitted that this condition was very different when she served in Papua, where the majority of the population were Christians. Being in Aceh for her, she and her husband really felt to become a minority. But the unique thing that she felt was, when on vacation to Medan, and she saw some women who wore tight clothes, shaded and did not wear the veil, arising a feeling of wonder, she experienced it because of the habits during living in Aceh.¹⁴

P2 added that the reason why she wearing the uniform with the veil was, because she respected the Islamic sharia in Aceh and the rules in the office where she worked. She has the principles “*dimana bumi dipijak disitu langit dijunjung*.” Even by wearing the veil uniform she feels more comfortable than did not wearing it, because she looks strange and become the object of attention from many people. As a wife of a TNI member, P2 also features the Persit uniform long clothes, by wearing the veil.

The next policewoman whose interviewee, was GT or P3 who served in Baiturrahman Sector Police in Banda Aceh and she was a Protestant. In contrast to her two colleagues P1 and P2, P3 has lived in Aceh since she was born, even her father is also a policeman. This P3 is the youngest personnel compared to two of her colleagues, instead she is not marry yet. P3 also said that she was comfortable wearing the veil uniform, for her, the clothes were familiar to her, since she was a teenager, she had been wearing the veil, because from the birth to

¹² Results of observations and interviews with (P1), 02 August , 2019 in Ditlantas Polda Aceh, Banda Aceh.

¹³ Results of observations and interviews with (P2) July 17, 2019 in Jaya Baru Police Station (Polsek Jaya Baru), Banda Aceh.

¹⁴ Ibid.

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being a policewoman, P3 mingled with the majority of Muslim Acehnese community, in addition, today she is listed as one of the students at Muhammadiyah College, which incidentally is an Islamic campus. According to her, precisely by wearing the veil uniform she was free to let her hair long, because without the veil she had to cut her hair short on the shoulders.¹⁵

P3 is a policewoman who is very obedient to superiors and also seniors. When the researcher would like to conduct an interview some time ago, she provided both of her seniors the opportunity to be interviewed first. After the researcher conducted the observations and interviews with various parties from the three police institutions, they affirmed that, seniority was something very important in the police institution. A member is called senior, if they first attended the education and have the higher rank than their subordinates. If in terms of age, they are younger but had reached a higher career level, they is also called a senior, but ethically they still have to respect their colleagues who still have a low rank but in terms of age older than them. Rank levels can be seen as in the following chart: ¹⁶

1. BINTARA (Non Commissioned Officer)
 - BRIPDA : Brigadier Polisi II (Police Brigadier II)
 - BRIPTU : Brigadier Polisi I (Police Brigadier I)
 - BRIGADIR : Brigadier Polisi (Police Brigadier)
 - BRIPKA : Brigadier Polisi Kepala (Head Police Brigadier)
 - AIPDA : Ajun Inspektur Polisi Tk II (Police Adjunct Inspector Level II)
 - AIPTU : Ajun Inspektur Polisi Tk I (Police Adjunct Inspector Level I)
2. PERWIRA PERTAMA (First Level Officer)
 - IPDA : Inspektur Dua (Second Inspector)
 - IPTU : Inspektur Satu (First Inspector)
 - AKP : Ajun Komisaris Polisi (Police Adjunct Commissioner)
3. PERWIRA MENENGAH (Mid Level Officer)
 - KOMPOL : Komisaris Polisi (Police Commissioner)
 - AKBP : Ajun Komisaris Besar Polisi (Lieutenant Colonel)
 - KOMBES : Komisaris Besar (Colonel)
4. PERWIRA TINGGI (High Level Officer)
 - BRIGJEN : Brigadier Jenderal (Brigadier General)
 - IRJEN : Inspektur Jenderal (Inspector General)
 - KOMJEN : Komisaris Jenderal (Commissioner General)
 - JENDERAL : General

¹⁵ Results of observations and interviews with (P3) July 17, 2019 at the Baiturrahman Sector Police Station (Polsek Baiturrahman), Banda Aceh.

¹⁶ Fitriana Sisikah Rachman, *Women in Uniform* (The Danish Embassy, 2006). v.

Once the importance of the seniority in the police institution, when taking the first data in 2018, the researcher interviewed one of non-Muslim policewoman working in Southeast Aceh (Aceh Tenggara), and she had one experience, that was when she was first placed in the Aceh Regional Police about a month and a half, it was there that, she just started wearing the veil. One impression is that when she was shopping at one of the shopping centers in Banda Aceh and the clothes that she wore, shirts and trousers without the veil. There she met one of her senior, then she was reprimanded by the senior, and asking her why she did not wearing the veil. The further problem occur until the office. The next day, the policewoman was specifically asked again by her senior, by stressing that in Aceh she had to wear the veil both at work and outside office hours. Since that time, she began to adapt with wearing the veil both while working and also other activity in outside.¹⁷

Furthermore, the researcher conducted interviews with several other circles such as Polda Aceh, academics, FKUB member, the nuns, Pastour, and others. All informant provided the varied argument related to the veil uniform. Rahmani Patana which is Kasubbagsipers Polda Aceh, explained that the reason of non-Muslim policewoman wears the uniform with the veil in addition to the rules in the work environment also because of social factors.¹⁸ Meanwhile, Ali Abu Bakar, who is a lecturer at the Sharia and Law Faculty of UIN Ar Raniry Aceh, suggests that there is no discrimination against minority groups in Aceh, related to non Muslim policewoman wearing the veil uniform, he said, indeed the obligation to wearing the veil only for Muslim women, but in police institutions there are other considerations that bind like ethics and aesthetics. In the terms of aesthetics certainly does not look pretty if some members wearing the veil, while others do not. From the other side, precisely would like to show that this is the Aceh police which differ from other regions, even by wearing the veil uniform, it will not make an image as the policewomen in Aceh is reduced.¹⁹ On another occasion, the lead of law and the KUB also stated that, the differences in Aceh did not eliminate the tolerance values in it, related to the veil uniform, the obligation of Muslim dress does not exist in their religion, it is a rule made in *qanun*, but it can be done because non Muslims must put the appreciation and respect for the passage of Islamic sharia and did not reveal the *aurat*, indeed to display the identity of each religion, for Muslims should wear the veil, instead for non Muslims they merely adjust and do not have to wear the veil, but because

¹⁷ Results of interview with one of non Muslim (LN) at Banit 17 Unitturjawali Satlantas Polres Aceh Tenggara, Agustus 16, 2018, by phone cell.

¹⁸ Results of interview with Kompol Rahmani Patana, Kasubbagsipers Bag Pci Ro SDM Polda Aceh, Juli 04, 2019, in Polda Aceh, Banda Aceh.

¹⁹ Results of interview with Dr. Ali Abu Bakar, August 21, 2019, in Sharia and Law Faculty, in Banda Aceh

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they are in Aceh it is obligatory to respect the Islamic law.²⁰ On the other hand, although the non Muslim minority are comfortable to live in Aceh, but according to one of the nuns, the problem of non Muslim policewoman who wears the veil uniform when conduct the duty, produce one's dilemma, however, because of they live in the sharia territory, and bound by the rules, then as the minority group including non-Muslim policewoman, must wear the veil on the grounds they feel safer and comfortable.²¹ In the separate place, Pastor Baron who is a Catholic religion advisor, saw the issue of non Muslim police woman in wearing the veil uniform when in serve the society. He asserted that, the policewoman is free personally to choose, except they are under pressure or feel uncomfortable, further that will be bridged by the church. But so far there is no non Muslim policewoman that complain if they are uncomfortable. Even the Pastour recognized well the Catholic Non-Muslim policewoman who often meet him when she worships at the church. The Pastor insists, if Catholic teaching is very flexible and it is not rigid, the point is, their teaching still maintain the modesty and the worthiness in the sharia territory.²²

2. The Theory of Bourdieu

In Obedience research, the researcher put the theory initiated by Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu's thought can be formulated into the following chart:²³

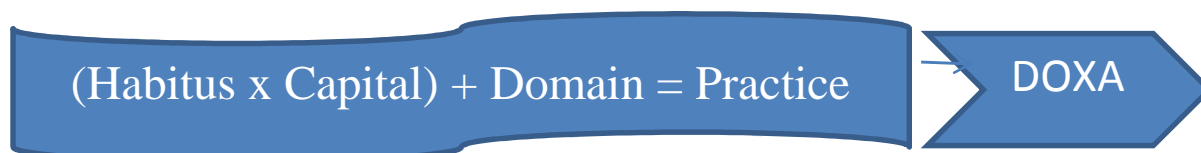


Figure 1. Theory initiated by Pierre Bordieu

Habitus is one of Boudieu's theories to bridge's dilemma between objective and subjective by focusing on practice as a result of a dialectical relationship between structuration and agency. Such practice is a mechanism that is not entirely determined by an objective nor free will. The practice is likely to produce a variety of habits in the original

²⁰ Results of interview with Rachmad Mulyana, Agustust 24, 2019, Head of Law and KUB, in the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion (Kasub Hukum dan KUB, in Kanwil Kemenag Aceh), Banda Aceh.

²¹ Results of interview the Nun Venansia (Krispina Situmorang), September 19, 2018, when taking initial data, in Banda Aceh

²² Results of interview the Pastor Baron, October 10, 2019 at the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion in Aceh, in Banda Aceh

²³ (ed) Richard Harker, *An Introduction to the World of Pierre Boudieu: The Practice Theory* (London: The Macmillan Press Lto, n.d.).

objective conditions, and to adapt the perception controlled by Habitus in an ever-changing external environment.²⁴

Habitus is a mental or cognitive structure through which one deals with social relations. The structure is the result of the process of logic, mental and from the environment surrounding it, and internalized into a person, then through that scheme one can feel, understand and appreciate and evaluate the social world.²⁵

Habitus can also be formulated as a system of dispositions (schemes of perception, thoughts and actions acquired and lasting). Individual agents develop these dispositions in response to the objective conditions they face and encircle them. In this way, Bourdieu made a conclusion about the planting of the objective social structure into the mental and subjective experience of the agent as a social actor. In this case habitus is produced and reproduced unconsciously, without any purposeful purpose towards the relationship, without any conscious concentration.²⁶

The next concept introduced by Bourdieu is Capital. He expanded his ideas into categories such as social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital.²⁷ According to Bourdieu, each individual occupies a position in a multidimensional social space. The space is not defined by social class membership, but through the amount of each type of capital he has. Capital can include the value of social networks, which can be used to produce and reproduce inequality. Researcher see, with that capital, allowing everyone to get a chance in people life.

Bourdieu further discusses the concept of Domain. Domains are a variety of social arenas and institutions where people express and produce their attitudes, and where they compete for the distribution of different types of capital.²⁸ The domain can be a network, structure or a set of relationships that can be either intellectual, religious, educational, cultural and so forth.²⁹ Simply, the arena can be understood as a network where individual agents and institutions interact. In social life, there are a number of semi-autonomous arenas, such as religion, economics, arts and culture. All of these semi-autonomous arenas have their own logic and all raise confidence among the agents (actors) on something that is at stake in the

²⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

²⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* Vol. 7, no. 1 (1989): Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power."

²⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge., 1984).

²⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Forms of Capital: Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Capital* ((New York: Greendwood Press, 2003). 241-258.

²⁸ J. Gaventa, *Power After Lukes: A Review of the Literature* (Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, 2003). 6

²⁹ Z. Navarro, *Search of a Cultural Interpretation of Power: The Contribution of Pierre Bourdieu Dalam* (Brighton: Institute for Development Studies Buletin, 2006). 18.

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arena. Bourdieu looks at the arena as a fighting vehicle such as competition market where various types of capital such as economy, culture, social and symbol are used and disseminated. In this arena the agent created a strategy to protect and improve their position, and the position of the agent in an arena determined by the capital.³⁰

Overall from the collaboration of all the components habitus, capital and domain, social practice happened. The next most important concept of Bourdieu theory is doxa. Doxa is a combination of orthodox norms and beliefs and heterodox through unspoken assumptions. Doxa occurs when agents forget the boundaries that have brought about unfair divisions in society. It is adherence to the order relationship where, because of structure, they are inseparable in the real world, and the World Mind is accepted as proof of self-existence.³¹

3. Application of Bourdieu's Theory to Non Muslim Policewomen in Aceh Context

Concerning to the Bourdieu theory and in the context of non-Muslim policewoman, the practice carried out by 3 non-Muslim policewoman in Aceh departed from the habitus that were embedded within them through the qanun which was applied in their compliance with the implementation of Islamic sharia, in which listed at Qanun No. 11 year 2002 on Islamic clothing regulations. Where to encourage them to produce the identity, that formed in obedience in the pattern of the police uniform by using the Muslim attribute, namely the veil. However, essentially, it was not a permanent practice, but underwent a change of format in accordance with social relations in which the policewomen was located. It is not detached from the arena where they lived.

If analyzed Bourdieu's theory, the researcher considers that the police institution is the battle arena where the agents play the role. The agents that mean here are Muslims, non-Muslim and senior policewoman or the commanders in the institution. The process of character formation and culture in the arena was instilled by agents who dominated the "capital" and then implanted to other agents uniformly in the arena. at police institutions, where 3 non-Muslim policewoman occupy the realm, they compete to devise strategies to save their positions in order not to be viewed as violation, in the rules in which they reside, both in office institutions and in Their environment. In addition the strategy of adherence to

³⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essay on Art and Laeisure*, Trans, Randar Johnson. ((New York: Colombia University Press, 1993).72

³¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. 472

the veil uniform is also create to balance their position as a minority group in the Muslim community of majority and different religions.

Of the three capital offered above, at least the social and cultural capital strongly dominates the practice of compliance of wearing veil against the three of non-Muslim policewomen. As a minority group, they adapted to the culture of Acehnese people who adopted the Islamic sharia, both in dress and other social practices in accordance with it. The most important thing in this theory is, the greater the role of agents or actors in an arena, and supported by the amount of capital they have, therefore the social practice is increasingly dominating in an arena.

The compliance of three non-Muslim policewoman to wearing the uniforms with the veil, unrealize arise the Doxa. Although they recognize if the veil is not the identity of non-Muslim society, however because of they obey to the regulation, and to respects to Islamic law, then they follow to the rules. Essentially, the veil uniform worn by the three non-Muslim policewomen, indicated that the obedience is a Doxa and absolute the truth that appears in the Arena (police institution) because of the various factors that to support, such as adapting themselves to the work environment and in their residence, respecting the implementation of Islamic sharia, compliance with the commands of their superiors or seniors. The third compliance of non-Muslim policewomen is not under pressure and compulsion, and neither group discriminated.

The concept of obedience in Islam always calls for obedience to God and his apostles and to *Ulil Amri* or leader (Qur'an 4:59). Obedience has been studied thoroughly in social psychology, both in its positive and negative aspects. Psychologists also usually define compliance as a form of social influence posed in response to direct orders from an authority figure.³² However, disobedience is regarded as the opposite of obedience, which is denial of.³³ Obedience is also very important, and disobedience is conjugated due to violations more attached/related to authoritarian attitudes and materialistic values.³⁴

³² Stephen Gibson, "Obedience without Orders: Expanding Social Psychology's Conception of Obedience," *Psychology* 58 (2019): 241–59.

³³ D. Morselli S. Passini, "Obedience-Disobedience," *Community and Applied Social Psychology* 20, no. 1 (2010): 1–4.

³⁴ Camila Medeiros Hochmuller, "Obedience, Disobedience and Civil Resistance on John Calvin's Thought," *Controversia* 4, no. 1 (2014): 36–43.

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4. CONTRIBUTION

This paper provides some contributions;

- a. This research would like to analyze the perception of various circles on the application of Islamic sharia in Aceh and the impact on non-Muslim minority groups particularly for the policewoman that served in the region of Aceh. This study is also expected to contribute and effective solutions for various non-Muslim minority issues, especially in Aceh, precisely at police institution.
- b. This research is expected to provide information to the outside world that although Aceh applies the Islamic sharia, but it is able to embrace the diversity especially against minority groups.
- c. This paper is also expected to prove that the tolerance can be built in Aceh, in the community of different faith, in particular at police institutions.
- d. Academically, the practice compliance can be application and used as a reference for millennial generations to form the characters that are disciplined, responsible and able to create a peaceful sphere.
- e. Bourdieu's theory of obedience will be more specific if practiced for Aceh context with sociocultural different from other regions in Indonesia.

C. CONCLUSION

The third motivation of three non-Muslim policewomen in wearing the veil uniform, are caused by several reasons: first, to adjust themselves to the office environment and residence. Second, to respect the application of Islamic sharia and do not want to look different to others. And the third is to obey to seniors and the commanders. In addition, other circles also affirmed that the practice to the veil uniform for the three policewomen is not in the pressure and discrimination, it is an evidences of the reverence from the non Muslim group, because they live in the sharia region. Although the practice it raised tends to produce a variety of habits and conditions, it is in accordance with the sociocultural society of Aceh and the agents in this case, the three policewomen feel comfortable. Researcher saw that the Doha arose here was able to instill a mutual respect for each member, with the attitude of tolerance maintained and brought harmony for all parties, without distinguishing tribes and religions.

This practice of obedience can be practiced and used as a reference for millennial generations to shape the characters that are disciplined, responsible and able to create a peaceful atmosphere. The results of this study have denied the basic assumption of researcher,

if there has been the alleged an intolerant practice at police institutions. Related to the veil uniform, the three non-Muslim policewomen personnel are given the option of wearing the veil uniform or not, and consciously all personnel choose wearing the uniform with the veil, without any compulsion and pressure by any one.

To sum up, it is not the final research, hopefully there will be further research that will examine the existence of non-Muslim policewoman and the challenges in the community of different faith, how the non Muslim policewoman strategy in face the various challenges when served the people in Aceh, as well as other studies related to non-Muslim minority groups in Aceh.

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